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Author(s)	溝上, 富夫
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現代ベンガル語における *videśi* 借用語について

溝 上 富 夫

ベンガル語は近代インド・アーリアン諸語の中でも、きわめて多くのサンスクリット語及びサンスクリット由来語を使用（両方合わせて95%以上）する言語であるが、一方、アラビア語、ペルシャ語や英語、ポルトガル語等のインド以外の外来語（いわゆる *videśi*）も、歴史的事情よりして無視できない。又、ヒンディー語はベンガル語の姉妹語であるが、サンスクリット由来語でも、比較的近世において、ヒンディー語から直接ベンガル語に入った語彙は、やはり *videśi* とみなしてよかろう。本稿では、現代ベンガル語におけるこれら *videśi* 借用語について概観することにする。

ON *videśi* (FOREIGN) LOAN-WORDS IN MODERN BENGALI

Tomio MIZOKAMI

I. Introduction

1. 1. The vocabulary of Bengali may be divided into the following groups on the basis of etymology¹⁾:

Bengali	{	<i>tatsama</i> ²⁾ (<i>i. e.</i> , Sanskrit words borrowed into Bengali)
		{ <i>tadbhava</i> (<i>i. e.</i> , Bengali words originated in or derived from Sanskrit through the stages of Middle Indo-Aryan)
non-Sanskrit	{	<i>deśaja</i> ³⁾ (<i>i. e.</i> , non-Aryan Indian words borrowed into Bengali)
		<i>videśi</i> (<i>i. e.</i> , foreign words borrowed into Bengali)

1. 2. Among the New Indo-Aryan languages, Bengali is specially well-known as the most Sanskrit-oriented language, though grammatically it has reached a different stage far from Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, Bengali has adopted such a large number of Sanskrit or Sanskrit-origin words⁴⁾ that one may easily observe Bengali as *a successor of the inexhaustible treasury of Sanskrit vocabulary*.⁵⁾ This tendency is more copious in *Sādhu Bhāṣā*,⁶⁾ for the *Sādhu Bhāṣā* prefers a highly Sanskritized vocabulary more than the *Calit Bhāṣā*.⁷⁾

1. 3. Bengali has, however, also adopted "*videśi*" words to such an extent which is not

negligible. As a result of a Muslim rule over five hundred years in Bengal, a fairly large number of Arabic and Persian words were introduced in Bengali,⁷⁾ and some of them have become an indispensable part of the native element, particularly the words which have a religious character and background. Persian was the court language during the Mughal period and remained as such until 1837, when it was replaced by Urdu by the East India Company. European traders began to come and settle in Bengal in the 16th century, among them Portuguese merchants were most active, therefore, some Portuguese words have also come into Bengali.

The British rule from 1757 to 1947 inevitably brought in quite a large number of English words equally in modern Indian languages, but it should be noticed that Bengal was the center of renaissance India under the impact of European civilization.

By *videṣi* are usually meant the words which are either from the languages of Muslim countries (Arabic, Persian, Turkish etc.) or some modern European languages⁸⁾ (English, Portuguese, French etc.).

1.4. As regards the loan-words from other Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati etc., most of them should be included in *tadbhava* in the light of the above-mentioned definition, because these languages are equally descendants of Old Indo-Aryan. But there are some words which have come to Bengali directly from these sister languages in comparatively modern times. It should be, therefore, unobjectionable for such words to be treated as *videṣi* here. Among these languages, Hindi is overwhelmingly predominant, and the others are of a negligibly little influence.

My intention in this study is to try to make a lexical survey of these *videṣi* words. Phonemical or phonetic observations are just minimal and introductory.⁹⁾ The method adopted here for transcription is a compromise between the actual sound and the general way of transliteration.

II. Phonetic

2.1. As Arabic words have come to Bengali through the medium of Persian, Arabic sounds had already been Persianized, though the spelling did not change.

In Arabic, ز *z*, ظ *ẓ*, ض *ḍ*, ذ *ẓ* are all different sounds, but they have one and the same sound in Persian—[z] (voiced alveolar fricative). س *s*, ث *ṯ*, ص *ṣ* are different sounds in Arabic, but they are all reduced to [s] (voiceless alveolar fricative) in Persian. Similarly ط *t* and ظ *ẓ* are the same—[t] (voiceless aspirated dental plosive), and then ه *h* and ح *ḥ* are the same—[h] (glottal fricative).

2.2.1. As Indo-Aryan sound system has no sound [z], Persian [z] are converted into

[j] when it comes to India, except the case of Urdu (Persianized Hindi). Among Hindi speakers and writers, only those who know Urdu or have come into contact with Muslim communities or Muslim culture, are conscious in discriminating [z] and [j], and for this purpose, a new letter **झ** was devised by dotting beneath **ञ**, but phonemically [j] and [z] should be regarded as one /j/ in Hindi.¹⁰⁾

In Bengali, Persian [z] and [j] are equally pronounced as [j] (voiced palatal unaspirated plosive). Example—**jomi** ‘earth’ < زمین *zamīn*; **jadu** ‘magic’ < جادو *jādu*;

ژ *zh* [ʒ] peculiar to Persian (voiced post-alveolar fricative) is hardly pronounced exactly in India. The words which contain this sound are rare in Persian itself,¹¹⁾ so this sound, which would be naturally reduced to [j], is quite negligible in Bengali.

In Bengali, dental [s] seldom occurs.¹²⁾ So Persian ش *sh* [ʃ] and [s] are equally pronounced as [ʃ] (palatal fricative) in Bengali. Example—

tamaša ‘sight’ < تماشا *tamāshā*; **hišab** ‘account’ < حساب *hesāb*;

خ *kh* [x] (voiceless velar uvular) changes into [kh] (voiceless guttural aspirated plosive), but [xt] becomes [kt]. Examples—

khoroč ‘expenditure’ < خرج *ḥarj*; **šakto** ‘hard’ < سخت *sart*;

ع [ʔ] (glottal plosive) is normally dropped. Examples—

ajob ‘strange’ < عجیب *ʿajīb*; **ijjot** ‘honour’ < عزت *ʿizzat*;

غ *g* [ɣ] (voiced or voiceless uvular plosive) changes into [g] (voiced guttural unaspirated plosive), and is not distinguishable from گ *g*. Examples—

gorib ‘poor’ < غریب *garīb*; **gorom** ‘hot’ < گرم *garm*;

ف *f* [f] (voiceless labio-dental fricative) changes into [ph] (voiceless labial aspirated plosive), but [ft] becomes [pt]. Examples—

phošol ‘crops’ < فصل *faṣl*; **hopta** ‘week’ < هفته *hafte*;

ق *q* [q] (voiced or voiceless uvular plosive) changes into [k] (voiceless guttural unaspirated plosive), and is not distinguishable from ک *k*. Sometimes it becomes [g]. Examples—

kədom ‘step’ < قدم *qadm*; **kar** ‘work’ < کار *kār*; **nəgəd** ‘cash’ < نقد *naqd*;

و *w, v* becomes either [b] (voiced labial unaspirated plosive) or any vowel. Examples—
jobab ‘answer’ < جواب *javāb*; **ukil** (or **okil**) ‘lawyer’ < وکیل *vakīl*;

2.2.2. A few cases of consonant changes other than 2.2.1.:

[b] > [p]: Example—**kharap** ‘bad’ < خراب *kharāb*

[t] > [d]: Example—**majbud** ‘strong’ < مضبوط *mazbūt*

[s] > [ch]: Example—**pochond** ‘agreeable’ < پسند *pasand*

[g] > [k]: Example—**bujruk** ‘large’ ‘elder’ or ‘pious person’ < بزرگ *bozorg*

[l] > [r]: Example—**cerak** ‘quick’ < چالاک *čālāk*

[l] > [n]: Example—**nowajima** ‘necessities’ < لوازم *lawāzem* etc.

2.2.3. As regards the vowel systems of Persian loan-words in Bengali, it is very difficult to make an accurate phonetical analysis,¹³⁾ because they are so flexible according to position (initial, middle, final) and length (long or short). One notable phenomenon on Bengali vowels, as seen in the above, is the preference of [ɔ] for Persian short vowel [a]. Example—

khob̄or ‘news’ < **خبر** *khabr*

2.3. The principle shown above is normally applicable to English sounds in Bengali, too. Examples—**bak̄ṣ̄o** < box; **k̄olej** < college;

[θ] becomes [th]: Example—**tharmomiṭar** < thermometer

[ð] would become [d], though it is rarely used.

[f] sometimes becomes [p]: Example—**apiṣ̄** < office

[v] sometimes becomes [bh]: Example—**inbhoiṣ̄** < invoice

Another notable feature of English sounds in Bengali is the cerebralization of [t̪] and [d̪] as in other Indian languages. Examples—**ṭiket̪** < ticket; **ḍakṭar** < doctor; Initial [s] or [ʃ] prefers to follow the vowel [i]. Examples—**iṣṭeṣon** < station; **iṣkul** < school;

With the increasing influence of English, educated Bengali speakers in urban areas, who have a good mastery over English, can pronounce English sounds with fair accuracy, not to say *exactly* as *King's English*. To such classes of people, it is very easy to distinguish [s] from [ʃ], [ð] from [d], [θ] from [th], and [v] from [b] etc. Even the avoidance of cerebralization would be easy, if the speaker is conscious.

III. Arabo-Persian

3.1. Religious terms relating to Islam proper have come naturally from Arabo-Persian.¹⁴⁾ Examples—**oju** ‘ritual ablution before prayer’; **auliya** ‘apostle’; **alla** ‘God’;

iman ‘faith’;	iṣlam ‘Islam’;	id ‘Id festival’;
k̄ob̄or ‘tomb’;	k̄olma ‘holy words’;	kapher ‘impious’;
korbanī ‘victim’;	koran ‘the holy Qoran’;	khoda ‘God’;
gaji ‘conqueror’;	jehad ‘the holy war’;	dua ‘prayer’;
pheresta ‘angel’;	m̄oṣ̄jid ‘mosque’;	molla ‘priest’;
ṣohid ‘martyr’;	ṣia ‘a follower of the sect of ‘Alī’ etc.	

These words are not so frequently used by the Hindu masses (probably except **alla**, **iṣlam**, **koran**, **khoda**, **m̄oṣ̄jid**). For the greetings or gratitude, Muslims use preferably Arabic **ṣalam** or **aṣṣalam walaikum** or **walaikum aṣṣalam** where Hindus say **n̄om̄oṣ̄kar** (Good morning, Good afternoon, Good evening, goodbye etc.). And **ṣukriya** rather than

dhonnobad (thank you). But Persian **khoda haphij** (goodbye) is not so common as in Urdu. For an honoric title, Muslims use **šaheb** (sir), and not **babu**.

3.2. Many of the terms concerning administration or law are also Arabo-Persian loan-words. Examples—

adalət 'court'; **ukil** 'lawyer'; **ain** 'law'; **ejahar** 'deposition'; **elaka** 'district';
oku 'event'; **ochila** 'means'; **košba** 'large village'; **kharij** 'rejected';
khilap 'opposition'; **jomidar** 'landlord'; **tamil** 'execution'; **daroga** 'sub-inspector';
raiot 'Raiyat'; **šeresta** 'court office'; **šohor** 'city'; **šorkar** 'government'; **šoi**
'signature' etc.

3.3. Names of materials or common articles:

astar 'lining'; **aina** 'mirror'; **āgur** 'grape'; **atošbaji** 'fire-works';
imarət 'building'; **kagəj** 'paper'; **kišmiš** 'raisin'; **kabab** 'roast'; **kələm** 'pen';
khata 'note-book'; **khəš** 'fragrant grass'; **cošma** 'spectacles'; **cabuk** 'horsewhip';
jama 'coat'; **takiya** 'pillow'; **təraju** 'scale'; **durbin** 'binocular'; **pərda** 'curtain';
mej 'desk'; **rešəm** 'silk'; **šanai** 'bamboo flute'; **šərbət** 'beverage' etc.

3.4. Abstract nouns:

akkel 'intellect'; **adət** 'habit'; **adəb** 'respect'; **intijar** 'expectation';
istpha 'resignation'; **istmal** 'application'; **ojon** 'weight'; **kamal** 'excellence';
kudrət 'nature'; **kheyal** 'thought'; **jor** 'strength'; **takət** 'power';
təjma 'translation'; **dabi** 'demand'; **dam** 'price'; **dəya** 'kindness'; **dərd** 'pain';
deri 'delay'; **doulət** 'wealth'; **mane** 'meaning'; **nojər** 'sight' etc.

3.5. Adjectives and adverbs:

aste 'slowly'; **kəm** 'little' or 'few'; **khuš** 'happy'; **taja** 'fresh'; **nojdik** 'near';
nərom 'soft'; **pərešan** 'perplexed'; **baki** 'remaining'; **lal** 'red'; **šada** 'white' etc.

3.6.1. **o** (Persian **و**) 'and' is a very common conjunction. Example—**bharət o japan**
'India and Japan'

3.6.2. Some Persian prefixes and suffixes are used with Bengali words to make compounds:

- (1)—ana or—ani (pertaining to): **babuana** 'the ways of a gentleman'
- (2)—khor (eater): **mədhkhor** 'wine-drinker'; **ghuškhor** 'bribe-taker';
- (3)—dar (holder): **rəndar** 'showy'; **onšodar** 'shareholder';
- (4) phi—(per): **philok** 'each man'; **phihat** 'at each hand';
- (5) be—(without): **berošik** 'inhumorous'; **behat** 'out of hand' etc.

Examples of Hybrids: **mukti phouj** (Bengali+Arabic) 'liberation army';

boi pətro (Arabic+Bengali) 'book and the like things';

3.7. Arabo-Persian words are often used as *Calit Bhāṣā* equivalents for *Sādhu Bhāṣā*:

If one says in *Sādhu Bhāṣā* **ami otiśoy anōndit aci** 'I am very happy', it sounds too much literary and stiff. Hence, in conversational style, **otiśoy** and **anōndit** are replaced by **khub** and **khuṣi** respectively. (**khuṣi** is used like an adjective in Bengali. **aci** is omitted.) In daily conversation, **ki khōbōr** 'What news?' = How are you?, and **ki moja** 'How funny (it is)!' are very commonly used.

3.8.1. It is worthwhile to compare the frequency of Arabo-Persian loan-words in Bengali with those in Hindi, though it is clear that Hindi (at least spoken Hindi) leans more on Persian than Bengali.¹⁵⁾ Example: While conversational Hindi prefers **andar** 'inside' rather than **bhītar**, **bhītōr** is far commoner than **ōndōr** in Bengali. Similarly—

in Hindi	in Bengali	
imteḥān > parikṣā	porikkha > emtehan	'examination'
khūd > nij or svayaṁ	nije or śoyō > khud	'by oneself'
dard > vyathā	bætha > dōrd	'pain'
dawā > auṣadh	ouśōdh > dōwa	'medicine'
galat > bhūl	bhul > gōlōt	'mistaken'
zarūr > avaśya	niścōy or ōbośšo > jorur	'certainly'
hālat > avasthā	ōbastha > halōt	'condition' etc.

3.8.2. Examples of a few words which, though Arabic or Persian, seldom occur in Hindi, yet are just too ordinary in Bengali:—

chobi 'picture'; **jiniś** 'thing'; **beši** 'more'; **boi** 'book'; **tōphat** 'difference';
dōrkar 'necessity'; **rōkōm** 'sort' etc.

IV. Hindi

4.1. Some Arabo-Persian words have also come to Bengali through Hindi. This seems reasonable when we consider the geographical conditions. Hindi was the language of *Madhya Deśa* (central country), hence there has been a constant exchange between Hindi and her sister languages. **ōdōlōdōl** 'change'; **tōndur** 'baking oven'; **bataś** 'air' etc., came obviously through Hindi. But it is in fact very difficult to lay down an exact rule of etymology concerning which Arabo-Persian words came directly to Bengali or which one came through Hindi. Words from or through Hindi:—

agla 'separate'; **āṭ** 'hem'; **āguṭi** 'finger-ring'; **āgocha** 'towel'; **acanōk** 'suddenly';
aṭōk 'stopping'; **aṭa** 'flour'; **aḍḍa** 'place of meeting'; **adekh** 'invisible';
adhkhēcra 'half-done' or 'incomplete'; **apōś** 'one another'; **ala** 'owner';
ekdom 'utterly'; **kangla** 'poor'; **kachari** 'law-court'; **kōnjuś** 'miser';
kamai 'earning'; **kēdua** 'leopard'; **kōṭōal** 'inspector of police';

khadi 'handwoven cloth'; **khara** 'pure'; **khel** 'game'; **godī** 'cushion';
guṛiya 'doll'; **gorokhdhanda** 'puzzle'; **ghuṣ** 'bribe'; **cumki** 'sparkler';
courasta 'crossroads'; **jōnjāl** 'perplexity'; **juta** 'shoes'; **tarkari** 'vegetable';
dupaṭṭa 'a scarf'; **dubhaṣi** 'interpreter'; **dhubi** 'lanndry'; **nenden** 'give and take';
pōncāit 'arbitration'; **pagṛi** 'a turban'; **palki** 'palanquin'; **pichila** 'posterior' etc.

4.2. As pointed out in 3.1., Bengali Muslims use Arabo-Persian words more frequently than Hindus. Bengali was one of the two national languages of Pakistan along with Urdu. Since Bangla Desh (former East Pakistan) is a Muslim-majority area, some influence of Urdu words, which commonly used in Hindi, is to be observed in this area. Examples are the frequent use of **thoṛa** instsād of **ekṭu** for 'a little', **waste khodar** instead of **khodar karōne** for 'for the sake of God', **bōmbai wala** instsād of **bōmbair lok** for 'Bombay people', and **ji** instead of **āge** for 'yes' etc.

But it has to be noted that "Musalmani Bengali" does not exist in the true sense of the word—except in the field of high literature. As far as the language problem in Bengal is concerned, there has not been a serious conflict between Hindus and Muslims as seen between Hindi and Urdu.¹⁰⁾

V. Portuguese

5-1. Portuguese loan-words commonly used in Bengali are as follows:—

acar 'pickle'; **ata** 'custard apple'; **anarōṣ** 'pineapple'; **almari** 'chest of drawers';
aya 'nurse-maid'; **iṣpat** 'steel'; **kaphi** 'coffee'; **kamara** 'room'; **kopi** 'cabbage';
kerani 'clerk'; **gaun** 'goun'; **girja** 'church'; **gudam** 'storehouse';, **cabi** 'key';
janala 'window'; **tamak** 'tobacco'; **nilam** 'auction-sale'; **pao** 'bread';
padri 'missionary'; **piṣṭol** 'pistol'; **peara** 'cup'; **baranda** 'verandah';
balti 'bucket'; **botam** 'button'; **mistri** 'artisan' etc.

VI. English

6.1. English words are used for expression in every field of human activity—especially in the fields of science, technology, education and politics. They are increasing in number.

Some of them have almost taken the places of Bengali parallels in frequency—so far as the colloquial style is concerned. Examples: **apil** 'appeal' is commoner than **abedon**; **iṣkul** 'school' is commoner than **paṭhśala**, and **aiḍia** 'idea' is commoner than **dharna**.

More examples are:— **enjinīar** 'engineer' > **jōntrošilpi**;

eḍiṭar 'editor' > **śōmpadok**; **eṣkolaṣip** 'scholarship' > **chatrobritti**; **kopi** 'copy' > **nōkol**;

klaš 'class' > **sreni**; **glaš** 'glass' > **pearā**; **jōj** 'judge' > **bicarōk** or **nyayadhiś**;
tækś 'tax' > **kōr**; **ṭebil** 'table' > **mej**; **paś** 'pass' > **uttirno** etc.

6.2. Examples of Hybrids (English+Bengali):

hed pōndit 'head of Pandits'; **phul mōja** 'full of enjoyment';

haph hata jama 'shirt of a half-sleeve'; **maṣṭar mōśai** 'respectful master' etc.

6.3. There are some words or idiomatic expressions that were not proper to Bengali, but have been constructed artificially by the translation from English words. Examples:—

biśśobiddaloy 'university'; **matribhaśa** 'mother tongue'; **śornojug** 'golden age';

biśoybōstu 'subject matter'; **batighōr** 'light house'; **gōlabōnd** 'necktie';

nikōṭ bhobiśśe 'in near future' etc.

VII. Miscellaneous

7.1. Turkish words might have been included under Arabo-Persian words. They have come also through Persian. Examples:—

ōjbuk 'foolish'; **urdu** 'urdu' (camp); **kāici** 'scissors'; **kuli** 'porter'; **kurta** 'a dress';

top 'gun'; **bahadur** 'brave'; **begōm** '(Muslim) lady'; **laś** 'corpse' etc.

7.2. **hōṭtal** 'strike', which is now very common all over Indian sub-continent, was originally Gujarati. **balbacca** 'children of one family' is also Gujarati.

7.3. Marathi words are: **kapōr copōṛ** 'clothes and stuffs'; **paṭil** 'village officers';

cōuth 'fourth part of land-revenue' etc.

7.4. **lama** 'lama' is naturally from Tibetan.

7.5. **lungi** 'loin-cloth' and **neppi** 'fish and meat condiment' are from Burmese.

7.6. **cai** 'tea' is Chinese, but it did not come directly from China, but through Europe.

Italian **mæleria** 'malaria', French **kupon** 'coupon', and Japanese **rikiśo** '力車' are all through English.

NOTES

1) Vide the "**Pariśiṣṭa**" of *Calantika, Ādhunik Bangbhaśār Abhidhān* (compiled by Rājśekhara Basu, 10th ed., Calcutta, 1966)

Sukumar Sen classifies in a different way: (*Bhaśār Itivṛtt.* 9th ed., Calcutta, 1965)

Bengali	Maulika (<i>i. e.</i> , borrowings from Old Indo-Aryan)	<i>tadbhava</i>
	Āgantuka (<i>i. e.</i> , borrowings from non Indo-Aryan or Indo-European other than India)	<i>tatsama</i>
		<i>ardhatatsama</i>
		<i>deśi</i>
		<i>videśi</i>

- 2) The modified loan-words from Sanskrit were additionally named *semi-tatsama* (*ardhatatsama* in Indian term) by European scholars. (S.K. Chatterji: *The Origin and the Development of the Bengali Language* ((O.D. B. L.)), Calcutta, 1926, p. 190)
- 3) *deśaja* is equal to Sukumar Sen's term *deśī*. To be more exact, *deśaja* means those words which were derived from the pre-Aryan Indian languages of Austric and Dravidan groups. **khoka** 'male-child' and **khuki** 'female-child' are said to be the most common Austric words. But such pre-Aryan words which were adopted by Sanskrit and borrowed into Bengali through the stages of Middle Indo-Aryan are regarded as *tadbhava*. Hence, in the actual case the distinction between *deśaja* and *tadbhava* may be ambiguous.
- 4) S. K. Chatterji counted the number of *tatsama* as 44%, *tadbhava* as 51.45% on the basis of Jñānendra-Mohan Dās's *Baṅglā Bhāṣār Abhidhān* (Calcutta, 1916) which contains some 75,000 words and compounds in total. (O.D. B. L., p. 218)
- 5) It is the description of Rājsekhar Basu on the dust cover of *Baṅgiya Śabdkoṣ* (compiled by Haricarāṇ Bandyōpādhyāya. 1st ed., New Delhi, 1966—1967):—
 ...ভাগ্যবতী বঙ্গভাষা সংস্কৃত শব্দের অক্ষয় ভাণ্ডারের উত্তরাধিকারিণী, এবং এই বিপুল সম্পদ ভোগ করিবার সামর্থ্যও বঙ্গভাষার প্রকৃতিগত।
- 6) Bengali has two forms: *Sādhu Bhāṣā* (standard literary form) and *Calit Bhāṣā* (standard colloquial form)
- 7) According to S. K. Chatterji's count, Arabo-Persian words in Bengali are 3.30% (O.D. B. L., p. 218)
- 8) These are 1.25%. (Ibid., p. 218)
- 9) For the details, vide Seizō Aoyagi: "Bengali Phonemics", 東京教育大学文学部紀要, Tokyo, 1963.
- 10) Similarly क़ for क, ख़ for ख, ग़ for ग, and फ़ for फ are used in Hindi, but except फ, the rest is rarely pronounced correctly by most of Hindi speakers. Phonemically क़ and क are the same /k/, ख़ and ख are the same /kh/, ग़ and ग are the same /g/, फ़ and फ are the same /ph/.
 In Bengali too, such a contrivance has been made: জ़ for Persian [z] (*Baṅglā Bhāṣār Abhidhān*), but this is not popular at all. Another examples of the same contrivance:
 ق = ক, خ = খ, غ = গ, ط = ড,
 ث = থ, ف = ফ, ص = স
 This system would only serve to transcribe Arabic or Persian in Bengali.
- 11) In Urdu, only seven words which have ج as initial letter are inserted. (John T. Platts: *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*. London, 1960 Reprint., and *Urdu-English Dictionary*. Lahore, 1960)
- 12) It occurs before [t] [th] [ʈ] [r] [ɽ] [l] [n]. Examples—
sthan 'place'; **srgar** 'jackel'; **oslil** 'indecent'; **snan** 'bath' etc. This principle holds good in Persian loan-words as well. Example— **gost** 'meat' < گوشت *gusht*. Also note that in Hindi the alteration of [ʃ] and [s] would be taken for uneducated. Examples— **śādi** 'marriage' is correct. **sādi** is wrong. **sāl** 'year' is correct. **śāl** is wrong.

- 13) Like Arabic, Persian has also got dialectal differences as well as historical changes.

Such studies as historical or dialectal on Persian are beyond my scope, but it can be safely said that the literary form of Persian brought to India was New Persian as spoken in Eastern Iran. Therefore, it is no wonder that Urdu resembles Persian of Afghanistan today in pronunciation. Examples— **dost** 'friend' (modern Persian دوست *dūst*)

zindagi 'life' (modern Persian زندگی *zendegi*)

But things are not so simple in the case of Bengali. For the details, vide *O. D. B. L.*, pp. 573—593.

- 14) Arabic and Persian are conveniently treated together. The original forms are not given on account of limited space. (And so forth.)
- 15) "...colloquial Hindi is likely to prefer Persian terminologies for a few generations." (H. Bahri: *Persian Influence on Hindi*. Allahabad, 1960, p. 25)
- 16) "...the masses in East Bengal, inspite of their extra-Indian religion, remained culturally and mentally Hindu (or Buddhist, with a veneer of Hinduism), and carried on the native Bengali traditions in literally and other matters." (*O. D. B. L.*, p. 209)

R. S. Dinkar also points out the historical reasons thus:—

①Bengal was far from the centers of the Muslim reign—Delhi and Agra.

②In Bengal, Hindus converted to Islam in multitude at the time, and they made their own language (Bengali) the language of Islamic culture, too. (*Saṁskṛti ke Cār Adhyāya*. 4th ed., Patna, 1966, p. 443)